A Message from Bertrand Russell on Entering Prison for Opposing Thermonuclear War

"To all, in whatever country, who are still capable of sane thinking or human feeling:

"Friends:

"The populations of East and West, misled by stubborn governments in search of prestige and by corrupt official experts bent on retaining their posts, tamely acquiesce in policies which are almost certain to end in nuclear war. There are supposed to be two sides, each professing to stand for a great cause. This is a delusion. Kennedy and Khrushchev, Adenauer and de Gaulle, Macmillan and Gaitskell, are pursuing a common aim, the ending of human life. You, your families, your friends and your countries are to be exterminated, by the common decision of a few brutal but powerful men. To please these men, all the private affections, all the public hopes, all that has been achieved in art and knowledge and thought, and all that might be achieved hereafter, is to be wiped out for ever. Our ruined lifeless planet will continue for countless ages to circle aimlessly round the sun, unredeemed by the joys and loves, the occasional wisdom, and the power to create beauty, which have given value to human life. It is for seeking to prevent this that we are in prison."

THE EARL RUSSELL

—Message issued by the 89-year old British philosopher on entering prison for 7 days (sentence reduced from two months for health reasons) after he refused to "keep the peace" and call off his campaign of non-violent civil disobedience against thermonuclear war. See page three for the statement Lord Russell read in court September 12.

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Observations To And From Belgrade

Reincarnation? At the opulent reception held by Marshal Tito for the Non-Aligned in the Hotel Metropol, Belgrade's grandest, a Yugoslav diplomat told me that when the Russians announced they would resume nuclear testing he asked a Soviet colleague whether Moscow would now erect a monument to John Foster Dulles. All the late Secretary of State's favorite doctrines appear in the Soviet explanations: the need to negotiate from a situation of strength, massive retaliation (with ever more massive bombs) and that same readiness to go straight to the brink which Dulles advocated years ago in *Life Magazine:* It looks like a plain case of reincarnation. Indeed Khrushchev is living up to the idealized image of our Pentagon tough guys: exploding bombs in the atmosphere (what's all this nonsense about fallout?), resuming tests on the very eve of the Belgrade conference (who cares about neutrals?), ignoring UN resolutions (it's only a debating society), acting unilaterally to take care of his interests by threat of force in Berlin, and warning the world off by announcing the Biggest Bomb Yet. (And if 100 Megatons, why not 1,000, or even a bomb so big it does not need to be delivered at all but can be detonated comfortably right at home in the assurance that it will kill everybody this side of the moon?) The Pentagon must be full of Colonels whose dreams of glory are one day to act just like Khrushchev.

Khrushchev on Khrushchev

"It is not difficult to imagine what would be the consequences if any State were to resume nuclear tests in the existing situation. The other nuclear Powers would be compelled to follow suit.

"This would trigger off again an unlimited race in the testing of nuclear weapons by any Power and in any conditions.

"The decision by any of the three Powers to resume nuclear weapon tests would be difficult to reconcile with the commitments they have assumed before all the members of the United Nations. . . .

"If one of the parties violates the commitments assumed, the initiators of this violation will cover themselves with shame, they will be branded by all the peoples of the world."

—Khrushchev to the Supreme Soviet, Jan. 14, 1960.

Our New Two-Party System

Shall We Go Khrushchevite, Too? Judging by the atmosphere on returning home, this is exactly what our Alsops and Lawrences and the forces for which they speak would have us do. At the moment, we seem to have a new two-party system, with the country divided between the Khrushchevites who would have us follow his example, ignore neutral and world opinion, and plunge into a new nuclear arms race, and the anti-Khrushchevites who think it would be wiser to look about us calmly before setting out on a collision course. This is not a football match, and the stickers beginning to blossom forth, "Better dead than Red," seem a trifle premature. There's no hurry about committing suicide. The commentator who believes in peace has a double task. One is of denunciation; there is no reason why the Russians should be allowed to get away with arms race nonsense we would not accept from their opposite numbers on our side. The

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other is to try and understand what is really happening. One must observe that Khrushchev is getting results by tough guy methods that he could not achieve since 1958 in his repeated attempts peacefully to get negotiations going; recognition of the Oder-Neisse line is no longer a political unmentionable. The second is that we are being put in the humiliating position of having to give in because publicly our government has had no real position except to stand on the status quo in Germany. This invited a showdown that must lead to war unless one side or the other backed down. But the German situation could not go on this way, with no real effort at unification but no disposition to recognize division. The way to avoid the alternatives of war or humiliation is to take the initiative with broader proposals of our own for Germany and Central Europe; to hold back on nuclear testing (the President said only a few days ago we had an ample atomic arsenal) and to seize leadership by challenging the Russians at the UN to accept world law and a world police as the corollary of the total disarmament for which they declare themselves still ready. The trouble is that the tougher Khrushchev gets the greater the pressure on Kennedy to reply in kind. The confrontation is no longer in the domain of politics but of anthropology. As the two hordes heat up for battle, the leaders dare not appear too conciliatory for fear of their own followers. The courage Kennedy admires never met a harder test than in the need to keep cool, to size up the opposition and not to become its mere mirror image. What will we have to offer in competition with the Russians if we act exactly like they do?

Slow Motion Talks at Geneva

Is the Play the Thing? I went abroad pessimistic and I came back more so. I saw the Bay of Naples again, and the Roman Coliseum by moonlight, with the tender eyes of a farewell visit. There, as later in Paris and London, the sense of an impending final tragedy gave pleasure an extra, elegaic, dimension. In Geneva at the Palais des Nations I hung about the corridors with the other reporters outside the closed doors of Salle VIII where the Laotian and nuclear conferences alternated in slow multilingual procession; the former spent a whole afternoon while I was there in semantic wrestle over the various meanings of the word control in

The Broken Pledge

"The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union have decided not to resume nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union if the Western powers do not resume the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Only in the event of the resumption by them of the testing of nuclear weapons will the Soviet Union be freed from this self-imposed undertaking."

—Announced in Moscow, August 28, 1959

English, French, Russian and Chinese; at the latter, our readiness to make nuclear concessions seemed to grow with the feeling that these could safely be made because the Russians had lost all interest in *any* agreement. I went off to Belgrade that same dreadful morning the kiosks carried the news that the Russians were resuming nuclear tests. On my way back, after the conference of the non-aligned, I spent my last night abroad with Bertrand Russell and his American-born Countess at their tiny town house in London, to which they had returned from their home in Wales, expecting (rightly as it turned out) to go to jail three days later. Despite the gloomy outlook, it was a joyful three week tour.

The main impression I brought back was of the immense vitality of the human race. Western Europe has not only recovered from the last war but bounded ahead. On every street in Rome, Paris and London, there was evidence of construction and expansion; the busy, intense and pleasure-loving crowds moved with a zest that must have been fed by recollection of the misery so recently experienced in occupation and bombardment. Given any political framework in which it is possible for men's labor to achieve some result, whether under capitalism, communism or the mixed societies, and people set to work with determination to rebuild their lives. It is only where they realize that the problems are not soluble in the existing political framework, as in the problem of war and peace between the great nation states, that they turn hopeless and are unwilling even to look at the atomic abyss opening like some surrealistic horror beside the normal highways of their lives.

Everywhere the headlines proclaimed the imminent possibility of war; the editorials discussed it; the radio was full of it. But in the cafes and on the streets, at the lake and sea

A Sour British View of The 'Heroes' Demonstrating in West Berlin

"First, a word of warning. If something isn't done at once to curb the West Berliners I don't like to think what might happen before another two weeks have passed. Don't misunderstand me. I'm not excusing the East Berliners, or rather their Communist masters. It was they who precipitated this crisis on Augst 13. But whatever they do on their side of the barrier is beyond our control. We can't do anything about it. But we can on our side. And at the Brandenburg Gate, in the British sector, we did.

"For two days a West Berlin mob massed before the Gate hurled taunts and insults at the Communist Vopos (Peoples Police). On the third day, when the Vopos resorted to tear gas and water-guns, the West Berliners were ordered back half a mile or so and have not been allowed to return. A high British officer who was there told me: 'There was only one word for it—provocation.' And he added: 'I'm not going to be dragged into World War III by a bunch of Berlin teen-agers if I can help it.'

"Bnt what do we find at the Friedrichstrasse crossing point, which the Americans control? After supper the other night I went along to see. The Patton tank which had been there all day with its guns trained on 'these Goddam Reds' was lumbering out, to be relieved by another tank for the night watch. The pavements on either side were chock-a-block with onlookers and a nearby vacant bomb site was packed with a howling mob of teenage louts pouring a stream of unprintable abuse at the Vopos.

"Looking on, I wondered. These young toughs, had they been born a generation sooner—wouldn't you have found them in Hitler's Brownshirt army, beating up the 'dirty Jews'? And these older people on the pavement—why, 99% of them must have voted for Hitler, and meekly accepted, if they did not actively support, a far more odious dictatorship than any the world has known before or since.

"And these are the people whose 'courage' won Lyndon Johnson's admiration, and whose lives as he put it, 'are linked with those who live in every town of Western Europe and the United States.' Well, if we're in the same boat with the West Berliners, we should ask them not to rock it. Especially now, when we're shooting the rapids."

—William Forrest, diplomatic correspondent, London Daily Mail, from Berlin, in its issue of August 28.

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fronts, on the Champs Elysee and in Piccadilly at the theatre hour, wherever men gathered for work or holiday, the spectre was pushed aside with the instinct that leads men to ignore what they cannot cure. The contrast between human energy in digging itself out from the debris of one war and its apathy before the threat of a new one carries a message we should not ignore. Men feel powerless because the obsolete and anarchistic nation state system has made us all prisoners; the rulers and the ruled alike move compulsively toward disaster, playing out their roles in a dramaturgy which must have an unhappy ending. Without world state and world law, we move to a dead end. The masses feel this, and go about their business as indifferent to the shadow of thermonuclear incineration as they are to the possibility that they might be struck down by a motorcar or an incurable disease.

Resistance Only In England

Only in England, largely under Russell's leadership, is there any popular resistance to the oncoming tragedy, but one feels that for all the thousands marching on Aldermaston or sitting in Trafalgar Square, the war machine will not be slowed up. As before World Wars I and II, the thunder of approaching battle is accompanied by the counterpoint of disarmament talks and pacifist agitation but there is little reason to believe these activities will be any more effective now than they were then. There is no common denominator between the pacifist and the statesman; they live as if in separate worlds, moved by a different logic; the ruler of a nation is as unable to be sensible and Christian as a bank president is to unlock his vaults and feed the hungry. Lord Russell advocates neutral arbitration of the Berlin question. He who went to jail in World War I looked forward almost exuberantly to going back again in protest against World War III, but he is not at all optimistic. Like his old comrade-in-arms Einstein, whose wonderful collected papers on peace I read on the way over to Europe (*Einstein on Peace*, edited by Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden: Simon and Schuster), Russell combines a deeply pessimistic view of man's prospects with an inexhaustible joy in life, and a pixie sense of humor. At 89 England's leading philosopher has thrown himself into the fight for peace with gusto but without illusion. One feels in talking with him that the peacemakers, like the war-makers, move onto the stage with the same actor's joy in fulfilling a predestined role and expressing an inner need. This, terrible though it may be, is how mankind *plays*, and a good time is had by all, whether heroes, villains or mere spear-carriers. A Blake or a Rilke might find meanings and mysteries in the spectacle deeper than the conventional formulations that stoke men's passions for their roles. When newspaper headlines begin to proclaim the

A Noble Warning on Racism

"Very often complementary and in every case inseparable from colonialism and imperialism, racism can never be condemned enough wherever it is found and whatever form it takes. In the past we have all been victims in various degrees of Western racism. But it would be wrong to believe that this racism exists only in respect to the so-called colored peoples. White racism has also been exercised against other whites. We can never forget the extermination by Hitler Germany of Jews, gypsies and other peoples. White racism presently has a less brutal but as odious a form in the shape of segregation or apartheid which we do not cease to condemn with indignation.

"But racist thinking, racist attitudes, racist measures are not exclusively a characteristic of Westerners. . . . Certainly let us condemn racism, all racisms, but at the same time extirpate from our own spirits and attitudes those traces of racism from which we are not exempt. . . . We must avoid the possibility that past humiliations translate themselves now into an anti-white racism as much to be condemned as the anti-black or anti-yellow racism of the past."

—Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia addressing the Belgrade Conference, Sept. 3.

Bertrand Russell Explains Why He Resorted to Non-Violent Civil Disobedience

"If the Court permits, I should like to make a short statement as to the reasons for my present course. This is my personal statement, but I hope that those who are accused of the same so-called crime will be in sympathy with what I have to say.

"It was only step by step and with great reluctance that we were driven to non-violent civil disobedience.

"Ever since the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, I have been profoundly troubled by the danger of nuclear war. I began my attempts to warn people by entirely orthodox methods. I expressed my fears in a speech in the House of Lords three months after the bombs were dropped on Japan. I called together scientists of the highest eminence from all parts of the world and am now Chairman of their periodic meetings. They issue wise and reasoned reports concerning nuclear warfare, its probable disastrous results, and ways of preventing its occurrence. No newspaper notices these reports and they have no effect either on Governments or on public opinion. The popular press minimizes and ridicules the efforts of those working against nuclear warfare, and television with rare exceptions is closed to us. In recent months one television company, and only one, offered me two minutes for general platitudes, but when I said I should wish to speak on Berlin the offer was withdrawn.

"It has seemed to some of us that, in a country supposed to be a democracy, the public should know the probable consequences of present Great Power politics in East and West. Patriotism and humanity alike urged us to seek some way of saving our country and the world. No one can desire the slaughter of our families, our friends, our compatriots, and a majority of the human race, in a contest in which there will be only vanquished and no victors. We feel it a profound and inescapable duty to do everything in our power to make the facts known and thereby save at least a thousand million lives. We cannot escape this duty by submitting to orders which, we are convinced, would not be issued if the likelihood and the horror of nuclear war were more generally understood. . . .

"Non-violent disobedience was forced upon us by the fact that it was more fully reported than any other method of making the facts known, and that it caused people to ask what had induced us to adopt such a course of action. We who are here accused are prepared to suffer imprisonment because we believe that this is the most effective way of working for the salvation of our country and the world. If you condemn us you will be helping our cause, and therefore serving humanity.

"While life remains to us, we will not cease to do what lies in our power to avert the greatest calamity that has ever threatened mankind."

—Bertrand Russell's statement to the court on being sentenced to prison Sept. 12 in an effort to prevent a civil disobedience rally against nuclear war called for Sept. 17.

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coming of the incredible, the mystics begin to seem the only sober observers.

The Situation in Yugoslavia: In the 11 years since I was last in Belgrade, it has become a modern West European city. Little of the old Balkan town is still visible amid the skyscrapers, fashionable shops and new high apartment houses. The progress is extraordinary. The food in the cheap popular cafeterias and delicatessens is inexpensive and excellent, indeed better than the heavy cooking in the big hotels. The prices in the shop windows are about at West European levels, though wages probably run at half to a third those in West Europe. But the people look well fed and dressed; there is a noticeable lack of tension. There is an air of efficiency and cleanliness in the restaurants which contrasts strikingly with the slack indifference encountered in Moscow eating places. There is no sign of "socialist realism" in the arts and few pictures of Tito. The crowds run to applaud and cheer when he goes by with his handsome wife in their huge open Cadillac, the longest I have ever seen. I got a glimpse of them at the reception they gave in the Hotel Metropol; their regal bearing amid an admiring court made the remaining hereditary monarchs in West Europe seem rather dowdy and bourgeois by comparison.

A Freer Kind of Communism

Eleven years ago the brightly colored pamphlets the Yugoslavs were giving visitors about their new system of workers' councils seemed, when one began to ask questions and look around, rather overblown and propagandistic. But Tito really seems to have worked out a different system of his own, a kind of Communism which allows for a large measure of initiative and enterprise through various forms of cooperative businesses and factory councils where efficiency is awarded by profit sharing. Overall controls and planning operate through the allocation of investment funds and the manipulation of the interest rate, not so differently from central banking techniques in a capitalist economy. There seems to be a considerable amount of competition in a market economy unusual in a communist country, and a great deal of participation in decision-making at the level of local government and in the various kinds of business enterprise. There is a distant resemblance to Kropotkin's ideal of a communist anarchism based on the free association of enterprises owned by the workers themselves. Only 10 percent of the farms are collectivized. I suspect that given some future relaxation of tension and of Russian control, many of the satellite states are likely to adapt Yugoslav methods to their own societies. Tito's system seems to provide a more pragmatic, less doctrinaire, more humane Communism.

Tito's remarkable achievement was made possible by two forces. One was Russian opposition, which solidified the people behind him, transforming a minority dictatorship into a broad based national movement of resistance. The other was American aid. Rarely have we acted more wisely. We demonstrated that we were prepared to help breakaway Soviet satellites without asking humiliating concessions or the abandonment of socialism. At the Belgrade meeting, amid all the anti-colonial atmosphere, the Tito regime was a quiet reminder that there is also a Soviet colonialism, and that one Communist ruler managed to break away from its heavy bonds and survive politically, thanks to far-sighted U.S. policy. The time may come when Tito's example and the help we gave him may lead to further defections. The greatest prize of all—if we had the resolution to exploit Sino-Soviet difficulties by revising our Far Eastern policy—would be to make it possible for Peking, too, to cut its ties to Moscow.

It is in this longer perspective that we ought to view Tito's Belgrade conference, and not be swept away by anger over his extraordinarily weak and apologetic references to Soviet resumption of testing in his speech to the conference. I shared the disgust and anger of fellow American correspondents with his feeble response. But it would be wise to keep our eye on longer range objectives. The fact that an anti-colonial conference should have been held in Belgrade at all, that it should provide an alternative center for a gathering of the newer Asian and African states, that Tito should have escaped the isolation Moscow would like to impose on him, and that he should challenge its monopoly of Marxism in the eyes of the new States—all this is an achievement U.S.

The Truth Withheld

Moscow radio tonight broadcast summaries of the speeches made by Mr. Nehru and President Nkrumah of Ghana at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade—but omitted their reference to the Soviet decision to resume nuclear tests."

—Tanjug Bulletin, Belgrade, Sept. 3

A Quiet British Rejoinder to Some of Our More Hysterical U.S. Commentators

"It is being maintained by some that any willingness to talk on our side will only encourage Mr. Khrushchev's greed and that a Western initiative, for halting the arms race and getting back on speaking terms with the adversary is no better than a repetition of the appeasement of the thirties and a demonstration of gelatinous nerves. Is this view wise and brave, or foolish and hysterical?

"If Khrushchev really resembled Hitler and his aim were the military domination of Europe, a military response would be the only answer. But although his tactics are blustery and unpredictable, there is no more mystery about Soviet than there was about Nazi strategic aims; and if one thing is certain it is that they are not at all the same. In fact, the habit of treating Khrushchev as a 'super Hitler' is about as absurd as his own effort to pin the same label on Western leaders.

"Anybody in the Kremlin today would be worried by the German situation. The West Germans are being built up by NATO into a major military power, while the East German zone has long shown every sign of becoming a dangerous mess. With the prospect of nuclear arms for the Federal Republic, Mr. Khrushchev may feel that after years of vain expostulation the time has now come when he must exploit Western weakness in Berlin to reverse the trend. Mr. George Kennan foresaw in 1957 that this is what would happen.

"The proper Western retort is not to panic and give up something for nothing, but to seek ways of breaking the deadlock without yielding either the freedom of West Berlin or access to the city. . . .

"What could be called gelatinous would be to let the risks and perils pile up simply for fear of seeming afraid. Every sane person should be afraid of a nuclear holocaust. It is a sign, not of weakness, but of sanity and strength to seek ceaselessly for other ways of dealing with disputes."

—"Sensible Fears" The Observer (London) Sept. 10.

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patience, magnanimity and diplomatic skill made possible. We need more not less of these qualities to preserve our influence with mankind.

Disappointment in Belgrade

The Failure of the Non-Aligned: The Belgrade conference was a disappointment. It disappointed the Western bloc. It also disappointed the peace forces. Its tepid attitude toward Soviet resumption of testing antagonized the West and disillusioned those who had looked to Belgrade for firm leadership against war. Men earn respect by being willing to pay a price for the things in which they believe. The resumption of testing by the Soviet Union was a major challenge. If the neutrals had declared the skies the common property of mankind and denounced any power for polluting them, if they had broken relations and refused any further aid from Russia as long as it was testing and declared they would treat the U.S. the same way if we resumed, their action would have had impact. If the underdeveloped nations had said they were ready to slow up their development by refusing aid from nations which test rather than acquiesce weakly in a move so dangerous to the future of the planet, they would have met the crisis on the high plane it called for.

To understand why they acted as they did, one must start by noting that these nations are neither unaligned nor neutral in a full sense. The Swiss and the Swedes are unaligned and neutral. They not only do not belong to either bloc—they do not need to ask either bloc for favors. But the nations gathered at Belgrade are aligned on a narrow tightrope between the two blocs, recipients of favors from both, suitors for alms in both Washington and Moscow. Their future and their precarious independence, the independence which enables them to coquette with both and give in to neither, depends on the maintenance of tension between the two great Powers. They can hardly act as peacemakers when they are the beneficiaries of the cold war. If Moscow and Washington ever came to terms and settled down to a really peaceful co-existence, neither would be ready to pour out millions for the favor of the so-called non-aligned. It is true that the non-aligned would suffer with the rest of us from a new world war and that they resent the millions spilled out and wasted in the arms race; nonetheless, their bargaining power depends on the maintenance of suspicion, rivalry and tension between Moscow and Washington. This does not make for moral force on their part.

Secondly, the non-aligned are no better morally than the aligned. There was hardly one head of a non-aligned state present in Belgrade who was not obsessed with some quarrel of his own qualitatively no different than the Berlin problem. If the non-aligned had set up an international agency and declared themselves ready to submit all their own petty bones of contention—Kashmir, West Irian, the Arab-Israel quarrel —to arbitration, they would have set an example for Moscow and Washington in the Berlin dispute. But these small powers are as obdurate as the big ones when it comes to the issues on which they feel *their* national interests are at stake. Indeed in some ways the smaller powers are perhaps even more nationalistic than the large. Their sense of nationhood is newer and less secure, won by sacrifices whose memory is still fresh. I did not hear a single speaker at Belgrade speak of the impossible situation created when issues as complex as Berlin (or Kashmir, or Palestine, or Algeria) had to be left to settlement by naked force or the threat of force in a world where any serious instability can set off a final themonuclear conflict. The idea of a law higher than national egotism never turned up at Belgrade. There were moments when one felt that these smaller nations only wanted the big powers to desist from their quarrels so

"Disheartening Stupidity"

'Tokyo—A general dismay, coupled with a note of relief in left and extreme left circles: these are the first Japanese reactions to the announcement that the United States is also going to resume atomic explosions. The day after the initial Russian decision one could measure clearly the enormity of the political error committed by the Russians. The psychological victory marked up by the U.S. was substantial, not only in Japan but in all Asia. For once the U.S. had a formidable propaganda advantage. Soviet reputation was terribly damaged. Mr. Kennedy became, in the eyes of the masses, the true defender of peace.

"Eh bien! All this has collapsed. The Americans have themselves demolished their magnificent position and today one hears their politics accused of a disheartening stupidity. Japanese opinion is disgusted and its natural tendency will be to 'put the whole world in the same basket.' Japanese opinion is inconstant and forgetful. The Japanese will quickly forget that it was Russia which started testing first. For them, the U.S. and Russia are now equal. The American decision annuls completely the psychological advantage chalked up by Washington while it lessens the harm Moscow had done Russia and the Communist cause by resuming tests."

—Le Monde (Paris) Sept. 8.

A London Newspaper Pictures West Berlin Already Dying on the Vine

"Most West Berliners are realistically taking stock of their new position in the light of possible future changes in the status of their city. Despite an official promise of a big relief plan to keep the city running, thousands are quietly making plans to get out.

"It is reported that removal firms are booked up for a year with transport of household goods to West Germany. Already, industry is feeling the pinch caused by a declining labor force.

"The economic blight has already set in along the sector borders where thousands of East Berliners used to come across and spend their money. West Berlin cinemas where East Berliners could get seats at favored rates in a scheme financed by the Bonn Government are closed by the dozen.

"Even in the Kurfurstendamm, in the fashionable center of West Berlin, a waiter in a popular restaurant waved his hand gloomily towards the empty tables, 'Two-thirds of our customers used to come from East Berlin.'

"East Berlin is having its worries, too, in a different way. I was told at the theatre of the world famous Berliner Ensemble, which specializes in performing the plays of Berthold Brecht: 'So many of our actors live in West Berlin that we have had to cancel two performances this week.

"The shadow of things to come enters into every conversation in West Berlin these days. Unthinkable even a few weeks ago, the belief is now growing among ordinary people that the West will neither go to war over Berlin nor be able to negotiate more than a face-saving solution in exchange for recognizing East Germany."

—Dispatch from Berlin in London Sunday Times, Sept. 10.

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Why We Have Two Strikes Against Us in the Anti-Colonial Bloc

they, the smaller ones, could safely go on with their own.

A third reason for the failure of any great moral force to make its appearance at Belgrade was that too many of the heads of state present turned out, when shorn of their anti-colonial glamor, to be pretty much standard model politicians. The cascade of platitudes and demogogy at times recalled an American political convention. Nehru spoke with distinction and anguish. Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, as always, had something to say, and said it with humor, objectivity and concern for the human race as a whole. U Nu of Burma and Mrs. Bandaranaike of Ceylon were impressive. But Suekarno of Indonesia turned out to be the kind of demagogue who says anything which comes into his head and sounds sufficiently tingling. An anthology of Throttlebottomisms could be garnered from the other speeches.

Through African Eyes

There is another reason why the Conference did not speak out strongly on Soviet testing. For the nations present from Africa, the struggle against Western colonialism remains the overriding concern; they resented it when Nehru said that "essentially" the era of "classic colonialism" was over. This is true in a sense but it is more true in Asia than in Africa. The greater objectivity and moderation of the Asian spokesmen reflected their firm achievement of independence. But for the Africans the names Angola, South Africa, Algeria, Bizerte, the Congo, Kenya, and the Rhodesias conjure up urgent and immediate scenes of suffering, torture, oppression, inequality and humiliation. In vast stretches of his own great Continent, the African is still not at home. The business of the atom bomb and of nuclear testing (except when done by a colonial power like France on African soil) seems a distant white man's affair. No doubt many would secretly be happy to see the two great white races destroy each other if only it could be done without harming the rest of the world. To the African we Americans are linked through NATO with the Portugese, French and British power against which they are still struggling; furthermore, for all our progress, we hardly set a model of race relations at home. President Kennedy sent the Conference a message on the right of self-determination, but we ourselves deny it to Cuba and NATO arms help to crush it in Africa.

On the other hand, the Russians may oppress Hungarians and lock up East Germans but that's a long way off, and neither are colored peoples. But more important than all this is that the existence of the Soviet Union as a rival of the Western colonial powers gives the anti-colonialist a source of support without which he would easily be crushed. This new factor was clearly visible in Cuba; without Soviet oil, Castro would have been brought to his knees months ago. Thus these peoples struggling for freedom against Western colonialism are not disposed to be as critical of the Soviet Union as they would be of us. This is a bitter pill for us to swallow but it is more important to understand than to resent it. The remedy is not to brush away the neutrals but to win their confidence by patience and forbearance. The biggest single step we could take to rehabilitate our reputation would be to make peace with Castro. This would show we really mean what we say about self-determination. If we wait, and behave with a magnanimity befitting our size, strength and traditions, the newer States will have their own frictions and disillusions with the Soviet bloc, as has Nasser. A clearer view of the world will assert itself, and we can gain friends and overcome stereotypes.

More Alarming Than the U-2

"It had been said that the position was much the same as last year, but there had been a change for the worse. Last year they were astounded and disturbed at the attitude of those who controlled American affairs over the flight of the U-2 when everybody was hoping for a Summit conference. Nothing could have been more calculated to prevent a conference of that character than the provocative action of that time. Those who again controlled the Pentagon had decided they could go one better than the U-2, and he could think of nothing more provocative, more likely to cause war, than the presence of Polaris missile submarines in Soviet waters. If one of these submarines was destroyed the balloon would go up."

—Mr. R. Willis, London Typographical Society, at the annual British Trades Union Congress, as reported in The Times (London) Sept. 8.

Sorry But Difficulties Abroad Forced the Merger of the September 11 Issue With This One—IFS.

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